

5 THE
Entire SPEECH

1507/826

OF

Caius Memmius

TO THE

PEOPLE of ROME,

Translated from

SALLUST

In Latin and English.

Dedicated to My Lord HAVERSHAM.



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To the Honourable
JOHN, Lord Haversham.

My LORD,

THE Translation of this Speech came out lately, tho' bearing Date, Amsterdam, 1656: But the Translator there pick'd out only some Sentences of the Author, and omitted the rest; besides the great Freedom which he has allow'd himself, in inserting many Things which are not in the Original. I have therefore attempted a stricter Translation, confining my self to the Words and Sense of Sallust, which (as in other places of this Author) is here and there so intricate, as to puzzle the Commentators. I own I was not able to express the Laconic Brevity of this Historian by the like in our English; and so was forced every now and then to use Paraphrase. I have frequently ~~kept~~ ^{used} the Words of the former Translator, where I found him faithful to those of the Author. The English and Latin are set one against the other, that the Reader may be judge of both.

The Generous Roman Genius, the Zeal for his Countrey's Liberties and Privileges; the Industry in discovering, and Courage in pointing out to the Invaders of them: lastly, the nervous Eloquence, which Caius Memmius expresses in his Speech, are not copied, but so much out-done by your Lordship, on the like Occasions, that I thought Caius Memmius could in Reason address himself to the Protection and Patronage of none so well as that of your Lordship, to whom this Translation is humbly dedicated, by



The Translator.

THE
SPEECH
OF
Caius Memmius
TO THE
PEOPLE of ROME.

Translated from

SALLUST.

M *Ultra debortantur a
vobis, Quirites,
ni Studium Rei-
publ. omnia supe-
ret: opes factionis, vestra pa-
tientia, jus nullum, ac maxime,
quod innocentiae plus periculi
quam honoris est.*

R *omans, if my Concern for the
Common-wealth were not a-
bove all other Considerations,
many things would discour-
rage me from speaking in your Behalf;
such as the Power of a prevailing Fa-
ction, your tame Submission, the Loss
of all Justice; and chiefly, because Ho-
nest Men are now so far from being ad-
vanced to Honourable Places, that they
are most exposed to the Danger of lo-
sing them.*

'Tis hardly worth while to put you in Mind, how, for these fifteen Years, you have been the Scorn of a few proud Men; how basely and unrevenge'd the Asserters of your Privileges have been undone with Disgrace; how your Courage is so sunk and cow'd, as not to rouse itself against those Enemies, under whose Oppression you groan; and at this time of Day to stand in Fear of those, whom you ought to have kept in Awe.

But tho' things seem so desperate, yet my Mind obliges me to oppose this mighty Faction. Truly I'll make use of that Liberty, which my Birth has entitled me to. The Good or Ill Success of my Design, Romans, is in your Power. Nor do I persuade you to (what your Ancestors have often done) take up Arms against the Invaders of your Liberties. There's no need of any Force, nor of increasing our Divisions. The Faction, by falling out (as they are wont) among themselves, must of Necessity in the End ruin itself.

After the Destruction of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who (they said) pretended to the Kingdom, several of the Roman People were severely question'd upon Suspicion. Then when *C. Gracchus* & *M. Fulvius*, had been slain, many of you were imprison'd and kill'd: And at both times an end was put to the Slaughter, not by Law, but because their Thirst of Blood was satisfied. Grant it, who can, that to restore the People to their Rights, is to affect the Kingdom; and that to shed Citizens Blood is lawful, because the private Revenge of some must be glutted with it.



Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis quindecim quam ludibrio fueritis superbia paucorum, quam fæde quàmque inulti perierint vestri defensores: ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem obnoxii inimicis exurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus vos decet terrori esse.

Sed quanquam hæc talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factioni potentia animus subigit. Certe ego libertatem, quæ mihi a parente meo tradita est, experiar. Verum id frustra an ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm est, Quirites. Neque ego vos hortor (quod sæpe Majores vestri fecere) uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessione opus est: Necesse est suomet ipsi more præcipientes eant.

Occiso Tiberio Graccho, quem Regnum sibi parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quæstiones graves habitæ sunt. Post C. Gracchi & M. Fulvii cædem, item vestri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt. Utriusque cladis non lex, verum libido eorum finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni reparatio, plebi sua jura restituere, quicquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequit, jure factum sit.

Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini erarium expilari, Reges & Populos liberos paucis Nobilibus vestigal pendere: penes eosdem & summam gloriam & maximas divitias esse: tamen hæc talia facinora impune suscepisse, parum habuere.

Itaq; postremo leges, Majestas vestra, divina & humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neq; eos, qui ea fecere, pudet aut poenitet: sed incedunt per ora vestra magnifice, sacerdotia & consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes: perinde quasi ea honori, non prædæ habeant.

Servi ære parati injusta imperia dominorum non perferunt. Vos, Quirites, in imperio nati, æquo animo servitutem toleratis? At qui sunt hi, qui Rempub. occupavere? Homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immuni avaritia, nocentissimi, & iidem superbißimi: quibus fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atq; inhonestæ omnia quæstui sunt.

Parse eorum occidisse Tribunos plebis, alii quæstiones injustas, pleriq; cædem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Itaq; quam quisq; pessimè fecit, tam maximè tutus est. Metum à scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transulere: quos omnes eadem

Of late Years you took it ill (tho' without expressing it publickly) that the Treasury was plunder'd, that Kings and Free men were tax'd to enrich a few of the Nobility; who tho' they shared among them both the highest Dignities, and greatest Wealth of the Nation, were not contented to have attempted such Crimes, without being call'd to an Account for it.

Therefore at length our Laws, the Majesty of the Roman Name, all things valuable, whether Civil or Religious, were betray'd to our Enemies. Nor do they, who have thus betray'd you, shew the least sign of Shame or Repentance; but rather strut daily before your eyes in State, some with Pontificats and Consulships, others with Triumphal Processions; as if they thought it not Robbery, but an Honour, to have cheated the Common-wealth.

Our very Slaves, bought with our Money, have Spirit enough to disobey the unjust Commands of their Masters. And shall you, Romans, born free and to Empire, patiently suffer the Yoke to be put about your Necks? But what sort of Men are these, who have thus seiz'd upon the Government? Men most wicked, Bloody-minded, of an unsatisfied Avarice, full of Guilt, and swell'd with Pride: resolved, right or wrong, to pursue their Interest, tho' it be at the Price of Faith, Honesty and Conscience.

All these strengthen themselves by their Crimes; some by murdering your Tribunes, others by false Informations and pack'd Evidences, most by private Assassinations: Thus the worse any one is, the more secure he thinks himself to be. These Men by their heinous Practices put you in Fear, because you want

want Courage : They are knit together in a strong Confederacy, being engaged in the same Hopes, the same Hatred, and the same Fears. But such an Union among good Men is Friendship, among bad Men 'tis Faction. If you were as careful of asserting your Liberties, as they have been of invading them ; truly the Common-wealth would not lie waste (as it does now), and the great Posts of it would be put into the Hands of the most Deserving, not of the most Forward and Audacious.

Your Ancestors, in order to retrieve their Rights, and settle the Government; twice retir'd with their Weapons, and seiz'd Mount Aventin. And will ye not use your utmost Efforts to preserve that Liberty you have received from them? and so much the more resolutely, as 'tis more dishonourable to lose what we have gain'd, than never to have got it.

It may be ask'd perhaps, what think you then proper to be done? They who have betray'd our Common-wealth, are not to be chastised by open Force of Arms. For tho' Traitors deserve the severest of Punishments, yet 'tis below the Dignity of Romans to use Traitors as they would do an open and fair Enemy. Let us rather treat them as the vilest of Criminals, torturing them into a Confession of their Crimes; besides, much may be discover'd by *Fugurtha*, who, if he submits, will certainly be obedient to your Commands; If he flights them, you may however guess, what sort of Peace or Surrendring that would have been, by the means of which *Fugurtha* had escaped unpunished, and a few of the Nobility fill'd their Coffers; while the Common-wealth had gain'd nothing but Loss and Disgrace.

cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coegit. Sed hæc inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est. Quod si tam vos libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt: profecto neq; Respub. (sicuti nunc) vastaretur, & beneficia vestra penes optimos, non audacissimos forent.

Majores vestri, parandi juris & constituendæ majestatis gratiâ, bis per secessionem armati Aventinum montem occupavere: Vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, nonne summâ ope nitimini, atq; eò vehementius, quò majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse?

Dicet aliquis, quid igitur censes? Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere Rempub. non manu, neq; vi (quod magis vos fecisse, quàm illis accidisse indignum est) verùm questionibus & indicio ipsius Fugurthæ: qui, si dedititius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet æstimabitur, qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex quâ ad Fugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentes maximæ divitiæ, ad Rempub. damna atq; dedecora pervenerint.

*Nisi forte dominationis eorum
satietas nondum etiam vos tenet ;
& illa, quam hæc, tempora ma-
gis placent, quum regna, provin-
ciae, leges, jura, judicia, bella
atq; paces, postremo divina &
humana omnia penes paucos e-
rant : Vos autem (hoc est Popu-
lus Romanus) invicti ab hosti-
bus, imperatores omnium gen-
tium, satis habebatis animam
retinere. Nam servitutem qui-
dem quis vestrum recusare aude-
bat ?*

*Atq; ego, tametsi virum flagi-
tiosissimum existimo impune inju-
riam accepisse, tamen vos scelera-
tissimis hominibus ignoscere, quo-
niam cives sunt, equo animo
paterer, ni miserecordia in perni-
ciem casura esset. Nam & illis,
quantum importunitatis habent,
parum est impune male fecisse,
nisi deinde faciendi licentia eri-
piatur ; & vobis æterna solici-
tudo remanebit, quum intelligetis
aut serviendum esse, aut per ma-
nus libertatem retinendam.*

*Nam fidei quidem aut concor-
diæ quæ spes est ? Dominari illi
volunt, vos liberi esse ; facere
illi injurias, vos prohibere ?
Postremo sociis vestris veluti ho-
stibus, hostibus pro sociis utun-
tur. Potestne in tam diversis
mentibus pax aut amicitia esse ?*

'Tis surely now or never seasonable
for you to exert your selves ; unless you
be not yet tired with their usurped Pow-
er, and chuse rather to see again those
times, when a few were possessed with the
Governments of your Realms, the Lieute-
nancies of Provinces, the Execution of
your Laws, your Benches of Judicature,
the Administration of Justice, the Prero-
gative of making Peace or War, in short,
with every thing relating to Gods or Men ;
when in the mean while You (that is, the
Roman People) tho' victorious Abroad,
and commanding all Nations round a-
bout, were so oppressed at Home, and
beggard'd, as to make hard shifts to live ;
and which of you is so hardy, that he
would not prefer even Slavery to this ?

As for my part, tho' I think it hard,
that that most wicked Man, who has ru-
in'd us, should not meet with a condign
Punishment ; yet I would not grudge
Traitors their Indemnity, because they
are our Fellow-Citizens, if I was sure,
that such Pity might not at last prove
our utter Destruction. For these Men
(so outrageous and unreasonable are they
grown) not content with their Impuni-
ty for their past Offences, will attempt
greater, unless you strip them of all
Power of doing the like for the Future ;
This therefore must be ever your con-
stant Care, if you are convinced you
must either be Slaves, or with a high
Hand maintain your Liberties.

For what hope is there you can unite
with them, or dare trust them ? They
affect an uncontrollable Power, you de-
sire to enjoy your Native Freedom ;
they'll always be upon the watch for an
Opportunity of doing Wrong, you up-
on your guard to prevent or repel it.
Lastly, they use your Allies as Foes,
and

and your Foes as Allies. And can such jarring Tempers admit of any Peace or Union?

Wherefore I advise and encourage you not to pass by so great a Wickedness unpunish'd. I mention not the Robbing of the Publick Treasury, nor of Extortion committed upon our Friends; which things, tho' they be grievous enough, yet are grown so customary now, as to be little regarded. But my great Complaint is, that the Authority of the Senate and your Empire, has been betray'd to our most Inveterate Enemy; and all the places of the Government, both Civil and Military, have been bought and sold. Which things, if they be not enquir'd into, so that the Guilty may be punished; what remains for us, but to live the Slaves of those who have done such things, as if we own'd them for our Kings; for what else is it to be a King, but to do what one lists, without Controul? *Romans*, my design is not to urge you to take more pleasure in finding Faults, than in rewarding true Merit; but take care, lest by overlooking or forgiving the one, you discourage and quite extinguish the other. Besides, I conceive it more beneficial to the Common-wealth to do Justice upon the Guilty, than to over-pay the lucky Success and Duty of the Deserving. The Good, if neglected, may chance to be less active; but the Bad will become more mischievous. Lastly, if you can but prevent the one by your Watchfulness and Severity from doing Ill, you'll so much the less stand in need of the Assistance of the other.

*Quare moneo hortorque vos, ne tantum scelus impunitum omit-
tatis. Non peculatus ararii sa-
ctus est, neque per vim sociis e-
repta pecunie: quæ quanquam
gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine
jam pro nibilo habentur. Hosti
acerrimo prodita Senatûs autho-
ritas, proditum imperium vestrum
est; domi militiaeque Respub. ve-
nalis fuit. Quæ nisi quaesita e-
runt, nisi vindicatum in noxios,
quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis,
qui ea fecere, obedientes vivoa-
mus? Nam impune ea, quæ libet,
facere, id est Regem esse. Neq; ego
vos, Quirites, hortor, ut jam malitis
cives vestros perperam quàm
recte fecisse; sed ne ignoscendo ma-
lis, bonos perditum eatis. Ad
hoc in Repub. præstat multò bene-
ficii quàm maleficii immemorem
esse. Bonus tantummodo segnior
fit, ubi negligas; at malus, im-
probior. Adhuc si injuriæ non
sunt, haud sæpe auxiliis egeas.*

F I N I S.

